1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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them pluck out their beards, with tweezers made expressly for that purpose. Before the Europeans came into the country, their apparatus for performing this work, consisted of a pair of muscle shells, sharpened on a gritty stone, which answered very well, being somewhat like pincers; but since they can obtain wire, of which that of brass is preferred, they make themselves tweezers, which they always carry with them in their tobacco-pouch, wherever they go, and when at leisure, they pluck out their beards or the hair above their foreheads. This they do in a very quick manner, much like the plucking of a fowl, and the oftener they pluck out their hair, the finer it grows afterwards, so that at last there appears hardly any, the whole having been rooted out. The principal reasons which they give for thus plucking out their beards and the hair next to their foreheads, are that they may have a clean skin to lay the paint on, when they dress for their festivals or dances, and to facilitate the *tattooing* themselves, a custom formerly much in use among them, especially with those who had distinguished themselves by their valour, and acquired celebrity. They say that either painting or tattooing on a hairy face or body would have a disgusting appearance.

As late as the year 1762, when I resided at Tuscorawas on the Muskingum, tattooing was still practised by some Indians: a valiant chief of that village, named *Wawundochwalend*, desirous of having another name given him, had the figure of a water-lizard engraved or tattooed on his face, above the chin, when he received the name *Twakachshawsu*, the water-lizard. The process of tattooing, which I once saw performed, is quickly done, and does not seem to give much pain. They have poplar bark in readiness burnt and reduced to a powder, the figures that are to be tattooed are marked or designed on the skin; the operator with a small stick, rather larger than a common match, to the end of which some sharp

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mals, is evident from various customs still preserved among them, and from the names of those animals which they have collectively, as well as individually, assumed. It might, indeed, be supposed that those animals' names which they have given to their several tribes were mere badges of distinction, or "coats of arms" as Pyrlæus calls them; but if we pay attention to the reasons which they give for those denominations, the idea of a supposed family connexion is easily discernible. The Tortoise, or as it is commonly called, the *Turtle* tribe, among the Lenape, claims a superiority and ascendency over the others, because their *relation*, the great Tortoise, a fabled monster, the Atlas of their mythology, bears according to their traditions this great *island* on his back, and also because he is amphibious, and can live both on land and in the water, which neither of the heads of the other tribe can do. The merits of the *Turkey*, which gives its name to the second tribe, are that he is stationary, and always remains with or about them. As to the *Wolf*, after whom the third tribe is named, he is a rambler by nature, running from one place to another in quest of his prey; yet they consider him as their benefactor, as it was by his means that the Indians got out of the interior of the earth. It was he, they believe, who by the appointment of the Great Spirit, killed the deer whom the Monsey found who first discovered the way to the surface of the earth, and which allured them to come out of their damp and dark residence. For that reason, the wolf is to be honoured, and his name preserved for ever among them. Such are their traditions, as they were related to me by an old man of this tribe, more than fifty years ago.

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These animals' names, it is true, they all use as national badges, in order to distinguish their tribes from each other at home and abroad. In this point of view Mr. Pyrlæus was right in considering them as "coats of arms." The Turtle warrior draws either with a coal or

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paint here and there on the trees along the war path, the whole animals carrying a gun with the muzzle projecting forward, and if he leaves a mark at the place where he has made a stroke on his enemy, it will be the picture of a tortoise. Those of the Turkey tribe paint only one foot of a turkey, and the Wolf tribe, sometimes a wolf at large with one leg and foot raised up to serve as a hand, in which the animal also carries a gun with the muzzle forward. They, however, do not generally use the word "wolf," when speaking of their tribe, but call themselves *Pauk-sit*,[2] which means *round-foot*, that animal having a round foot like a dog.

The Indians, in their hours of leisure, paint their different marks or badges on the doors of their respective houses, that those who pass by may know to which tribe the inhabitants belong. Those marks also serve them for signatures to treaties and other documents. They are as proud of their origin from the tortoise, the turkey, and the wolf, as the nobles of Europe are of their descent from the feudal barons of ancient times, and when children spring from intermarriages between different tribes, their genealogy is carefully preserved by tradition in the family, that they may know to which tribe they belong.

I have often reflected on the curious connexion which appears to subsist in the mind of an Indian between man and the brute creation, and found much matter in it for curious observation. Although they consider themselves superior to all other animals and are very proud of that superiority; although they believe that the beasts of the forest, the birds of the air, and the fishes of the waters, were created by the Almighty Being for the use of man; yet it seems as if they ascribe the difference between themselves and the brute kind, and the dominion which they have over them, more to their superior bodily strength and dexterity than to their immortal souls. All beings endowed by the Creator with the power of volition and self-motion, they view in a manner as a great society of

[2] [Erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Analyst]

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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that the Delaware groups nearest to the Iroquois had been influenced by them. The Munsi were nearest to the Iroquois, and Harrington's informants were predominantly of this group. The various house styles, on the other hand, are possibly related to the seasonal movements of the Delawares, who, like the central Algonkians, may have utilized the rectangular, bark-covered long house in summer and the dome-shaped lodge in winter.[129]

The dome-shaped lodges were simple structures built by placing pieces of bark, preferably of linden or elm, over a sapling framework. The bark was stripped from the trees in summer in as large sheets as possible and dried. It then provided a watertight house.[130] House furnishings were rather meager. "They. . .make very fine, strong and artistic mats of finely painted spruce roots and strong straw, with all kinds of figures, to decorate and cover the walls with, and to place below their bed clothes."[131] Rush mats were painted and fastened to the walls in winter to keep out the cold. Some houses had "portraits and pictures somewhat rudely carved."[132] By the eighteenth century platforms made of poles, which encircled the walls and served as tables, benches, and beds, were mentioned.[133] The platform was covered by an untanned skin of bear or deer, or else with a mat.

Near each village was one or more sweat houses:

> When they wish to cleanse themselves of their foulness, they go in the autumn, when it begins to grow cold, and make, away off, near a running brook, a small oven, large enough for three or four men to lie in it. In making it they first take twigs of trees, and then cover them tight with clay, so that smoke cannot escape. This being done, they take a parcel of stones, which they heat in a fire, and then put in the oven, and when they think that it is sufficiently hot, they take the stones out again, and go and lie in it, men and women, boys and girls.[134]

Informants (O.A., J.T.) recalled small sweat lodges of this type. Skinner found "small beds of cracked stones and pebbles, without relics, often at some distance from other remains. . ."[135] Thus, archaeological remains tend to confirm the existence of this trait for the prehistoric people of Staten Island.

Clothing.—The amount of clothing worn by the Delawares varied with the season. In summer men wore only a leather breech cloth and women only a short skirt, and they frequently did without moccasins.[136] In colder seasons the principal garment was a skin of beaver, fox, deer, bear, elk, or raccoon.[137] The hair side was worn next to the body in

[129] Wissler, 1917, p. 221; Denton, 1845, p. 7.

[130] Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 401; Muhr, 1954, pp. 381-83; O. A.

[131] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 222.

[132] O'Callaghan, 1850, I: 262; Hayes, 1954, p. 77.

[133] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 17.

[134] De Vries, 1909, pp. 217-18; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 257, described the sweat lodge in similar terms.

[135] Skinner, 1909, p. 48.

[136] Pastorius, 1912, p. 384; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 191-92.

[137] De Laet, 1909, p. 57; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 106; Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Juet, 1909, p. 18; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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on the skin; the operator with a small stick, rather larger than a common match, to the end of which some sharp needles are fastened, quickly pricks over the whole so that blood is drawn, then a coat of this powder is laid and left on to dry. Before the whites came into this country, they scarified themselves for this purpose with flint stones, or pricked themselves with the sharp teeth of a fish.[153]

The men tatooed their arms, legs, and faces with figures of snakes, birds, and other animals. These were marks of distinction and commemorated some worthy deed or heroic action. Occasionally the women tattooed themselves.[154]

Both sexes painted their thighs, legs, breast, and face with streaks, lines, or circles. The usual colors were red, black, blue, and yellow.[155] Painting was mostly for festive occasions or for warfare. Women were more circumspect than men in the amount of paint used, since excessive or immodest painting was regarded as indicative of a wanton woman.[156] Both men and women wore numerous ornaments. Wampum in particular was a favorite; it was used as necklaces and wristlets and was hung from the ears. Sometimes it was woven in bands and worn on the head or clothing.[157] The helixes of men's ears were often pierced for wampum, metal, and other ornaments:

> They frequently cut the helix of the ear,[158] leaving the upper and lower ends intact and then hang bits of lead to it so that it is stretched. Then this curved border of the auricle is bound with brass wire, distending it considerably, and decorated with silver ornaments.[159]

Besides wampum, necklaces of dyed deer hair, stone, native copper, and shell gorgets were worn.[160] One source depicted men wearing "the thumbs of enemies they have killed."[161] Men carried tobacco pouches, often made from the whole skin of a loon, large enough to hold a pipe, tobacco, knife, a pair of depilatory shells, and other objects.[162]

Manufactures.—The bow and arrow, the war club or tomahawk, and the spear were the principal implements of the men.[163] The type of bow used is unknown, except for one vague reference to wooden bows and arrows.[164] The triangular stone projectile points were fastened to the shaft by means of resin.[165] Projectile points were usually made of quartz, but chert, slate, shale, granite, sandstone, and argillite points have been found. Some may even have been made of fish bones.[166] Stone, pottery, and copper pipes were noted, both from early documents and

[153] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 206.
[154] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 12.
[155] De Vries, 1909, p. 217; Holm, 1834, p. 119; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Denton, 1845, p. 10.
[156] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203.
[157] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 196-97.
[158] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 207; Luckenbach, 1838, p. 107.
[159] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 12.
[160] Abbott, 1875, p. 327; Heye and Pepper, 1915, pp. 32-42; Holm, 1834, p. 119.
[161] Holm, 1834, p. 119; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301.
[162] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 68; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 204.
[163] Brinton, 1885, p. 53.
[164] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29.
[165] De Laet, 1909, p. 48; Holm, 1834, p. 129; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29.
[166] Smith, 1950, p. 119; De Laet, 1909, p. 57.

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weather.[8] The Mask Being was the only deity who was made concrete by human impersonation. Brainerd saw this deity impersonated and gave a vivid description:

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> He made his appearance in his pontifical garb, which was a coat of boar [bear] skins, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bearskin stockings; and a great wooden face painted, the one half black, and the half tawny, about the color of an Indian's skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bearskin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced towards me with the instrument in his hand, which he used for music in his idolatrous worship; which was a dry tortoise-shell with some corn in it, and the neck of it drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle. As he came forward, he beat his tune with the rattle, and danced with all his might, but did not suffer any part of his body, not so much as his fingers, to be seen. No one would have imagined from his oppearance (sic) or actions, that he could have been a human creature, if they had not had some intimation of it otherwise. When he came near me, I could not but shrink away from him although it was then noonday, and I knew who it was: his appearance and gestures were so prodigiously frightful.[9]

The Mask Being was the guardian of animals and in recent times took part in the Big House Ceremony. It was this masked figure with which children were threatened.[10] The stone faces found in archaeological sites attributed to the Delawares bear a striking resemblance to it.[11] Speck said that they "may be thought of as prototypes of the small wooden and corn-husk masks still serving the Iroquois as 'guardians of health' and the Delawares as personal charms."[12] A multitude of lesser deities included Doll Beings, Tornado, Mother Corn, Snow Boy, Comet, animal spirits, plant spirits, and local genii.[13]

Approaches to the Supernatural

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The principal means by which an individual got in contact with supernatural powers was in a dream or vision:

> Such dream no doubt has great effect during the life of its subject, and in his private worship all his songs are descriptive of some of the events which he saw in his dream. He often repeats them and does not fail to attribute his success to the deity whose wonderful appearance had foretold his good fortune, or any mishap to his own bad conduct which incensed his guardian.[14]

Not only was the guardian spirit the guiding force in an individual's life, the secret of whatever success he had, and aid in time of trouble, but the public recitation of visions was the basis for the major religious

[8] Harrington, 1921, p. 25.

[9] Brainerd, 1884, pp. 184-85. Luckenbach, 1938, p. 451, also described this masked figure.

[10] Harrington, 1921, pp. 31-34; Speck, 1931, pp. 61-62; 1950, pp. 32-34; L.F., O.A.

[11] Skinner, 1920, p. 5; Harrington, 1921, p. 38.

[12] Speck, 1950, p. 45.

[13] Harrington, 1921, pp. 43-51.

[14] Trowbridge MS.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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796 "a whole buck-skin with the head and antlers is raised upon a pole, head and antlers resting on the pole, before which the Indians sing and pray."[62] Speck noted that the sweat lodge was erected in the Big House in the Wolf phratry ceremony and that "the sweating rite was held as a test of endurance for the men who had spiritual guidance."[63] Zeisberger also stated that there was a number of less important ceremonies arranged by individuals.[64]

A minor ceremony, continued until the twentieth century but unrecorded in the earlier literature except for a casual reference by Zeisberger, was the "Otter-Hog Dance."[65] This rite had to be given every [777] few years by a certain family or else bad luck ensued (O.A.). The leader of this dance wore an otter hide which stretched from his head down his back to the ground. Special songs were sung, and the meat of the largest procurable hog was consumed during the dance. The hog's head was carried around in a pan by the leader during the dance and at the conclusion of the ceremony was consigned to the flames (O.A.). Harrington mentioned this ceremony and gave an origin myth for it, but his informants did not remember the dance itself.[66] Speck has also described this "Grease Drinking, or Otter Ceremony."[67]

● [532] Another series of minor ceremonies consisted of the Doll Dances. These dances probably originated in prehistoric times, but were not recorded in the early documents. The dolls seem to have had their origin in the visions of women and were passed down through the maternal line.[68] Doll owners had to give their dolls annual dances, usually in the spring. The doll was tied to a stick and the dancers carried it during the all-night ceremony. Both sexes participated; men danced in an inner circle, the women in an outer. They danced around a fire on either side of which two poles had been raised. The drum used in this ceremony was the "package" drum used in the Big House Ceremony (O.A., M.B., J.T., J.W.). Twelve songs were sung in the course of the ceremony, followed by a pause for a feast in which various corn dishes prepared by the owner of the doll were eaten. After this meal the songs were repeated, and just before dawn cornbread was scattered on the ground and was picked up and eaten by the dancers. Speck said that a Doll Dance "embodies the idea of appeasing the latent ill-will of the Spirit of Corn, aroused through innocent familiarity incurred in the past between the children of certain families and this sensitive Manitto."[69] Harrington described the Doll dances, but his description varies somewhat from mine.[70]

There were undoubtedly other dances and feasts, including first fruits rites,[71] given at different seasons by various family or other kin

[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 138-39; Kenny, 1913, pp. 196-97.
[63] Speck, 1937, p. 21.
[64] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 140.
[65] Zeisberger, 1871, p. 344.
[66] Harrington, 1921, pp. 178-82.
[67] Speck, 1937, pp. 44-48.
[68] The section on Mythology describes several origin tales for the Doll Dances.
[69] Speck, 1937, p. 61.
[70] Harrington, 1921, pp. 184-71.
[71] Hayes, 1954, p. 70 (first deer killed after an annual ceremony, on June 9, 1760); Loskiel, 1794, p. 40; Brickell, 1842, p. 49.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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reprimand, and must promise to fulfill his duty better in the future.

The name Delawares undoubtedly has its origin with the Europeans, for neither they themselves nor other nations use this name. They call themselves the Lenni-Lenape Indians or *W'oapanachke*, that is people living towards the rising of the sun, having formerly inhabited the eastern coast of North America. It is possible that the word Delawares should have been applied to the nation; because the Unami Tribe, which lived nearest the sea, uses the word *'udellowen* very much. This word, meaning "I say," being a verb, appears frequently and in many forms in the conversation of the people. The first Europeans, not understanding the language and hearing this word very often may have made Delaware out of it and called the people thus. The Indians themselves believe this to be the explanation, though it is possible that the Europeans have another, of which I am not aware.[201]

If a party of Indians have spent a night in the woods, it may be easily known, not only by the structure of their sleeping huts but also by their marks on the trees, to what tribe they belong. For they always leave a mark behind made either with red pigment or charcoal. Such marks are understood by the Indians who know how to read their meaning. Some markings point out the places where a company of Indians have been hunting, showing the number of nights they spent there, the number of deer, bears and other game killed during the hunt. The warriors sometimes paint their own deeds and adventures, the number of prisoners or scalps taken, the number of troops they commanded and how many fell in battle.

If two nations are engaged in war and the warriors of one commit some murderous act, it is not uncommon that they leave the hatchet in the head of the victim who has been scalped or lay a war-club, painted red, upon the body of the victim. This is a formal challenge, in consequence of which, a captain of the insulted party takes up the weapon of the murderers and hastens into their country to be avenged. He will do much the same thing, leaving his weapon upon the murdered, and

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their *W'sinkhoalican*, that is image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head, in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room.

Their ornaments are partly round shields and half moons of silver, partly the same forms made in wampum. These are usually worn upon the breast for adornment. They also have great belts of wampum made of the violet, not the white, wampum. Men as well as women wear silver crosses upon the breast and in the ears which custom comes from the French. The *W'sinkhoalican* they like also to hang about their children to preserve them from illness and insure them success.

They are very fond of white children. Hence Indian women run after white men and, when they have white children, make much of them, although they do not like the white people. Twins are regarded as particularly fortunate, being looked upon as favored people who have a great spirit.

Their language resembles various other languages, some more, some less. When one remembers how near or how far they have lived from one another it will appear that the differences in the languages have come about through the separation of the peoples and the little contact they have had with one another.

The Unami and the Wunalachtico both lived along the sea in Pennsylvania and in Jersey, a short distance from one another. Their languages differ very little. That of the Monsys[306] who lived on the other side of the Blue Mountains in Minnissink is very different from these, so that had they not dwelt nearer together and been in constant contact in recent times they would hardly understand each other. Yet the speech of each of these peoples is but a dialect of one and the same language. The language of the Mahikanders[307] bears much resemblance to that of the Monsys, the former having lived in New York and the Woapeno not far from them in New England. The language of the Nantikoks, formerly residing on the seacoast in Maryland, very much resembles the Delaware, differing only in pronunciation

The Gods of the Delaware

The Delaware believed in a supreme first power, "who had not only produced or made all things, but produces every day...Everything he makes and does is good." (Danckaerts, p. 174). This does not mean that the creator necessarily creates everything himself, but what ever being creates (as, for example, the tortoise in the creation myth) does so as his agent; Brainerd noted that although the Indians paid reverential attention to birds, beasts, fishes and reptiles, "...they do not indeed suppose a divine power essential to, or inhering in, these creatures; but that some invisible beings ...communicate to these animals a great power; ...and so make these creatures the immediate authors of good to certain persons." (Brainerd, pp. 344-45). Likewise the guardian spirits and all other beings with unusual power derive it from the Great Spirit (Penn, p. 37; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 128)

In addition to granting objects of nature special power on certain occasions, the Great Spirit is believed to have given more or less permanent control over certain aspects of nature to lesser beings. From this arises their concept of the lesser deities such as the four directions, the Sun, the Moon, Thunders, Living Solid Face or Mask Being (Harrington, 1913, pp. 226-27; Brainerd, p. 345: Heckwelder, 1881; pp. 212-213). We know from later sources that this last being is the guardian of the animals. He is the only deity whose appearance is specifically designated and represented by a costume. The face is a wooden mask painted half red and half black; its body, which was supposed to have been hairy, is represented by a suit of bearskin (Harrington, 1921, p. 33). Apparently Brainerd saw a shaman dressed to represent this being for his description coincides in all details (Brainerd, p. 237). The only other known images of the Delaware were faces, also painted red and black, which were carved on the Big House posts and miniature stone faces which were worn around the neck. Present day Delwares think of the former as representing the spirits in charge of each of the twelve heavens, and consider them related to the Living Solid Face (Beatty, p. 22; Harrington, 1921, p. 31). The latter were according to Harrington, worn as good luck or good health charms (Harrington, 1921, p. 36). An example of one found in an east coast site is shown in Skinner (1920, p. 5).

The Delaware also told of a super-human man who had come in the remote past and taught them how to live. In Lindstrom's version, a Lenape woman became pregnant and gave birth to a son although no man had any connection with her. This boy, "...had so much to say that it was a great wonder and performed many miracles and wonders. When he now became somewhat large he departed from us and went up into the air... 'He promised to come back to us, but he never came back to us again,' they say." (Lindstrom, p. 208). In other accounts these same features are combined with a more specific refer-

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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this belief, or have included it loosely under the worship of "gods" representing the elements.

KEEPERS OF THE HEAVENS

The Lenape now in Oklahoma believe that each of the twelve heavens, in the highest of which lives the Great Spirit, is presided over by a *mani'to* who serves as a messenger to repeat the prayers of men until they reach the ear of the Creator. They are represented by the carved faces upon the posts inside the temple, and are mentioned in the ritual of the Annual Ceremony. I can find no mention of them in early accounts of the Lenape, however, unless the twelve gods mentioned by Loskiel,[24] most of whom have already been spoken of in this chapter, may represent the same concept. The Lenape today speak of these as being related to the Living Solid Face, who will now claim our attention.

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MĬSINGHÂLI'KŬN, OR LIVING SOLID FACE

The most remarkable deity of the Lenape is the Mask Being, called by the

FIG. 1.—Mask of the Oklahoma Lenape. (Height, 14.5 in.)

Unami *Mĭsinghâli'kŭn*, which was interpreted as "Living Mask," or "Living Solid Face." According to the Unami,

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this being was made guardian by the Creator of all the wild animals of the forest, and is sometimes seen riding about on the back of a buck, herding the deer; but he lives in a range of rocky mountains above the earth. His face is large and round, the right half being painted red, the left black, while his body is covered with long dark hair like that of a bear. Unlike most of the deities in the Lenape pantheon, he is represented by a "graven image," a huge wooden mask, painted half red and half black (fig. 1); which is left in charge of some family who

FIG. 2.—Rattle of turtle-shell used by Misi'ngw. (Length, 16.7 in.)

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will take good care of it, and burn Indian tobacco for it from time to time. With the mask is kept a coat and leggings of bear-skin to represent the being's hairy body, a peculiar rattle of turtleshell (fig. 2), a stick, and a bag made of bear-skin, all used by the man selected to impersonate Mĭsinghâli'kŭn at the various ceremonies when he is supposed to appear, and which will be described later. To the back of the mask is fastened the skin of the bear's head, which effectually conceals the head and neck of the impersonator (pl. 11), while the bear's ears, projecting, add to the uncanny effect.

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If any Lenape had a child who was weak, sickly, or disobedient, he would send word to the keeper of the mask that he wanted Mĭsinghâli'kŭn to "attend his child." It is said that it did not take the impersonator long to frighten the weakness, sickness, or laziness out of the child, so that thenceforth it would be strong and well, and would obey on the instant when asked to do anything. This effect was probably strengthened by

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COSTUME WORN BY IMPERSONATOR OF MĬSINGHÂLI'KŬN

[Facing p. 34]

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MASKS OF THE MINSI (AFTER PETER JONES)

[Facing p. 38]

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FIG. 4.—Mask from the Canadian Lenape. E. T. Tefft collection, American Museum of Natural History. (Height of head, 14 in.)

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FIG. 5.—Stone head or Misi'ngw from Ohio. (Height, 13.9 in.)

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STONE HEAD OR MĬSI'NGʷ, FROM STATEN ISLAND, N. Y.
(Staten Island Institute of Arts and Sciences)

[Facing p. 42]

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pl. v, vi, but in former days the roof was of bark. The length is about 40 ft. from east to west, with a height at the eaves of about 6 ft., at the ridge 14 ft., and a width of 24.5 ft. Aside from certain ingenuities of construction which can not be discussed here, its chief interest lies in the two large carvings of the human face, one facing east (fig. 6) and one west, which adorn the great central post supporting the ridge-pole. Similar carvings, but smaller, may be seen upon each of the six posts which support the logs forming the sides (fig. 7), and still smaller ones, one upon each of the four door-posts. All twelve faces are painted, the right side of each red, the left black. The building is used only for the Annual Ceremony.

FIG. 6.—Central post of Ceremonial House, showing carved face.

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OFFICERS

[796] [202] The messenger sent to assemble the people is one of three male attendants chosen by the leader, and these three men appoint three women to serve also. To these six attendants, known as *a'ckas*,

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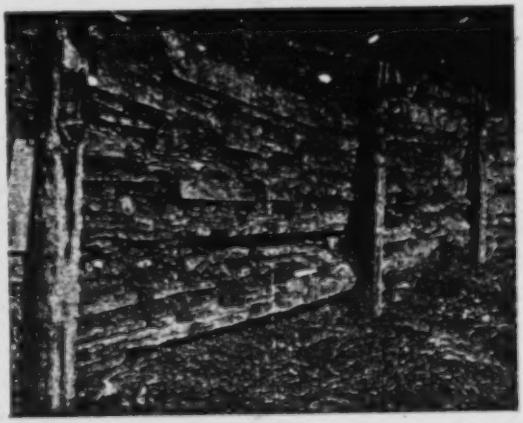

FIG. 7.—Side posts of Ceremonial House, showing carved faces.

[554] falls all the laborious work of the meeting. Although the duties are menial, it is considered quite an honor to be selected as *a'ckas*. The attendants camp on the north and south sides of the little open

6;Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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pole (shown in frontispiece), east of the Big House, and are used in the feasts at the close of every night's meeting until the gathering disbands.

NEW FIRE

Every night the usual program is repeated until the ninth. On this night a new fire is kindled with the sacred pump-drill called *tu"da'i wähe"'ji manĭ'towŭk* or "Fire maker of the Manĭ'tos" (fig. 8), and the ashes of the old are carried out through the west door of the Big House, which is used only for this purpose (among the Unami), and is usually kept closed. The new fire seems to symbolize a fresh start in all the affairs of life.

USE OF CARVED DRUMSTICKS

Also on the ninth night, before the singing begins, they bring out the two ancient drumsticks (*pa kŭ"di'gŭn*), carved with tiny human heads, one male and one female (fig. 11), to use in place of the cruder sticks used before, which are marked only with a rude cross (fig. 12, *a*).

[Text continues on page 103]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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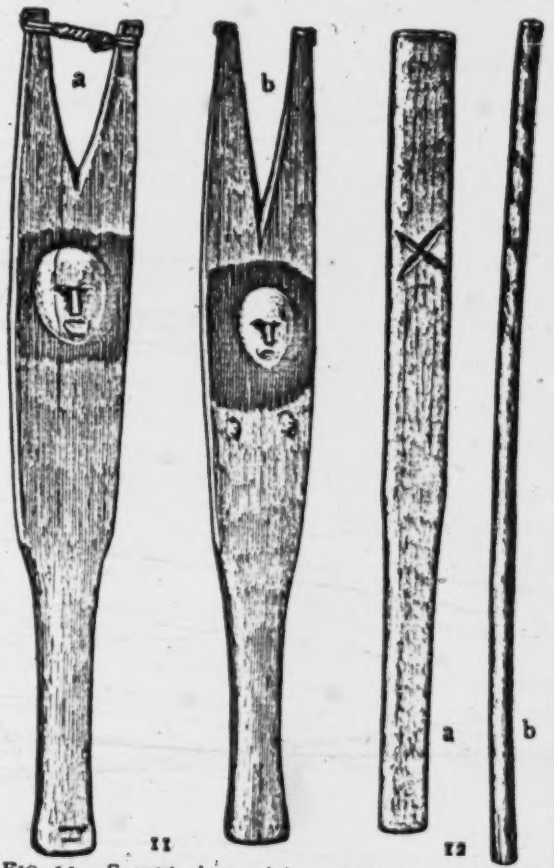

FIG. 11.—Sacred drumsticks, used at the Annual Ceremony in Oklahoma. (Length of *a*, 18.6 in.)

FIG. 12.—*a*, Plain drumstick used at the Annual Ceremony; *b*, Prayerstick. (Length of *b*, 18.9 in.)

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own first article[47] the writer has seen of the Annual Ceremony among the Lenape in Oklahoma, is that written by Adams,[48] which reads as follows:

"The peculiar steps which they use in this dance have caused the name 'stomp' or 'stamp' to be applied to it.

"In regard to the stomp dances of our people, we have several kinds of dances; the most important one is the 'worship dance' which is carried on in a large building called a temple, which is rectangular and ranges from 60 to 80 feet long, from 30 to 40 feet wide, and is about 10 feet high. It is built of wood with 2 doors. The main entrance is at the eastern door, and it has only a dirt floor.

"On each post is carved a human face. On the center post or one in the center of the building four faces are carved; each face is painted one-half red and one-half black. All the people enter at the east and go out the same way. When they come in they pass to the right of the fire, and each of the three clans of the Delawares take seats next to the wall, the Turtle clan on the south, the Turkey on the west, and the Wolf on the north. In no case can any one pass between the center post and east door, but must go around the center post, even to go to the north side of the temple.

"This dance is held once each year, in the fall,

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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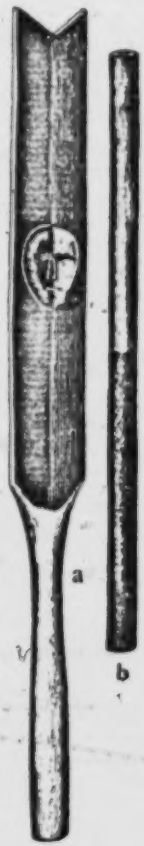

top. This feature, however, corresponds with the second form of the Annual Ceremony noted among the Lenape in Oklahoma and also recorded by Zeisberger in Pennsylvania. Near this central post the singers sat, and beat with four carved sticks upon a dry deerhide folded into a square, in lieu of a drum (fig. 14), differing from the Unami form, which is a rolled dry deerskin upon which are tied several slats of wood (fig. 8). The drumsticks are flat, resembling those of the Unami, as each bears a face carved upon one side, but differ from them in the form of the forked end, and in width. Some, it is said, represented women, the breasts being indicated as

FIG. 15.—*a*, Drumstick, Minsi type; *b*, Prayer-stick. E. T. Tefft collection, American Museum of Natural History. (Length of *a*, 19 in.)

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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among the Unami, but this feature does not appear in the set collected by the writer at Grand River reserve (fig. 15,*a*), which the Indians said were representative of the Minsi type.

There were two poles laid along on each side from end to end of the Big House to divide the dancing place in the center from the sitting places on the side, which were covered with a special kind of leaves. Along these poles twelve little sumach sticks (fig. 15, *b*), peeled and painted, were laid for twelve people to hold in their hands, and tap on the poles in time to the music. There were also provided a turtle rattle, which was placed at the foot of the central pole; a fire-drill which Nellis Timothy thinks was worked on the "pump-drill" principle, like that of the Unami, and a lot of entirely new and unused bowls and spoons of bark. Unlike the Unami custom, both doors of the Big House were used, the people always going in at the east door and coming out at the west, and here also (like the Unami) the ashes

hearsay testimony) a man stood up and recited, in a rythmical sing-song tone, his dream—the vision of power seen by him in his youth. Na'nkŭma'oxa remembered how one old man was accustomed to tell about a duck, half black and half white, which had appeared to him. Between the verses of the dream four musicians kneeling at the drum (*pe'awahe'gŭn*) began a plaintive song, beating time with the carved sticks (*pe'awahe'gŭnŭk*). As they sang, the reciter swayed his body to and fro, while a group of dancers gathered on the floor behind him danced with a sidewise step. Before the ceremony, poles were laid lengthwise along both sides of the council house, and against these, at intervals, three on a side, the painted sticks, called *mkäähi'gŭn*, were laid. If anyone in the crowd felt 'especially happy' he was privileged to strike with one of these sticks upon one of the poles in time to the music. The carved heads on the drumsticks meant that human beings were giving thanks; the lengthwise

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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painting of the sticks, half black and half red, implied that men and women were together in thanksgiving, the black representing the warriors, the red the women. The fork at the striking end of the sticks was to give a sharper sound. The dyes for producing the colors were made by boiling bark, the black being soft maple (*sexi'kiminsi*), and the red, red alder bark (*xito"pi*).

"In another part of the same ceremony wampum was used in the form of strings and bunches, both of which were represented in my collection from the Delawares. At least thirteen of the strings were used, each one made different by different combinations of the white and purple beads. These thirteen, it is said, represented respectively (1) Earth; (2) Plants; (3) Streams and Waters; (4) Corn, Beans, and Vegetables; (5) Wild Birds and Beasts; (6) Winds; (7) Sun; (8) Moon; (9) Sky; (10) Stars; (11) Thunder and Rain; (12) Spirits; and (13) Great Spirit. At the ceremony these strings were laid upon a bench before a

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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"He helps the people with their hunting, and also helps in the Big House while the ceremonies are in progress. If he finds anyone there who has not done right, he informs the three guards of the meeting, who take that person and put him out. In all these ways the MIsi'ng^{w} helps the Delawares."

MASKS OF THE MINSI

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The Minsi Mizi'nk (cognate with the Unami *Mĭsi'ng^{w}*) was a mask made of wood with copper or brass eyes and a crooked nose, according to my informants at Munceytown; and judging by Peter Jones' drawings (pl. III) they were provided also with hair, tufts of feathers, and jingling copper cones or deer-hoofs. The Mizink at Grand river was of Minsi type, judging by the specimen obtained by the writer (fig. 4).

Such masks were made to represent Mizinkhâli'kŭn, who was "something like a person, but different from the Indians, and was powerful. They saw him first among the rocks on a hill, and he spoke to

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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them and told them what to do to get his power. When a man put on a Mizink he received the power of this person or spirit; he could even see behind him, and could cure diseases."

The Mask Society.—The men who owned these masks formed a kind of society which Nellis Timothy says originally had twelve members, but which, before it disbanded, dwindled to about five. Sometimes only two appeared in costume.

The society had a meeting-house of its own where its dances, *Mizinkĭ'ntĭka*, were held, for, unlike the Unami custom, no Mizink ever appeared in the Big House. The members appeared wearing their masks and clad in rough bearskin and deerskin costumes, while some, at least, where provided with a turtleshell rattle which they would rub on a long pole, crying "*O*^{n}-*o*^{n}-*o*^{n}*!*" the while.

Ceremonies.—While no consecutive account of their ceremonies is now remembered, it was said that they sometimes put down their rattles, heaped up

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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794 the ashes from the two fires, then threw
796 the ashes all over the house to prevent
751 the people assembled from having disease.

755 Should any sick person appear, he or
794 she would be especially treated with
796 ashes. Sometimes the performers would pick up live coals and throw them about, frightening the people. At other times the whole company of them would go around to the different houses begging for tobacco, and would dance in any house where someone was willing to sing for them.

Nothing was said among the Minsi about the Mizink bringing back stray
●532 stock or driving deer, characteristic at-
778 tributes of the Mask Being of the Unami.
[126] The writer obtained but one mask among the Canadian Lenape, and this was from the Grand River band (fig. 4); it has been described by him[84] in the following words:

"But one mask (*mizink*) was obtained. It differed from those of the Iroquois chiefly in being cruder, and also in decoration, the lines being burnt into the wood instead of being

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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painted or curved. The original use of the mask had to do, in part at least, with healing the sick, but Isaac Montour (*Kapyâ'hâm*), from whom I bought it, failed to make himself clear as to the details."

It will be seen that the Minsi beliefs and practices noted above resemble those of the False Face Company of the Iroquois tribes much more than they do the customs connected with Misi'ng^{w} among the Unami.

In fact, a vague tradition exists to the effect that the False Face Company of the Cayuga once put a stop to an epidemic of cholera among the Minsi. While this was not given to account for the origin of the society among the Minsi, it at least shows that they were familiar with the Iroquois practices in this line.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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She hired a man especially to hunt a yearling doe for the ceremony, which took place in her own dwelling. The details are lost, but it is remembered that a man beat a little drum and sang while she, as owner, danced around, carrying the doll in her hands, followed by such of the other women present as wished to participate. Said Wolf, "The Nani'tis helped the Indians, that's why they fed it."

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An Old Minsi "Doll."—The writer was able to obtain but one old specimen of this type (pl. VIII), which was procured at the Grand River reserve, Ontario, for the E. T. Tefft collection, now in the American Museum of Natural History, and was described in the writer's article,[55] before cited, as follows:

"Perhaps the most interesting Delaware specimen of all is the little wooden image, about eight inches high, bought of Dr. Jones, which his father, Rev. Peter Jones, described and illustrated in his book under the name 'Nahmeetis, the Guardian of Health.' He says:

[776] "'I have in my possession two family gods. One is called *Pahookowaih*—the god that crushes

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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"NAHNEETIS THE GUARDIAN OF HEALTH"
(E. T Tefft Collection, American Museum of Natural History)

[facing p. 168]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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or breaks down diseases. The other is a goddess named *Nahneetis*, the guardian of health. This goddess was delivered up to me by Eunice Hank, a Muncey Indian woman, who with her friends used to worship it in their sacred dances, making a feast to it every year, when a fat doe was sacrificed as an offering, and many presents were given by the friends assembled. She told me she was now restored to worship the Christian's God, and therefore had no further use for it.'

"There can be no doubt in this case concerning the identity of this specimen with the one illustrated in the book quoted. It will be noticed however by those who are familiar with Peter Jones' illustration that Nahneetis, like many humans, has lost her hair in her old age. An interesting featureof the specimen is the primitive skirt, which is made apparently by belting a blanket-like bit of cloth, bound at the edges, around Nahneetis' waist. A vestige of this method of making a skirt survives, I think, in the form of the beaded strip running up one of the vertical seams of the more modern Indian skirt, among both the Delawares and the Iroquois."

The writer afterward found such skirts still in use among the Lenape in Oklahoma (pl. 1, *b*).

An Early Account of Nani'tĭs.—Another early account of the Nani'tĭs among the Minsi may be found in the

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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PLATE 1

DELAWARE CEREMONIAL LEADERS IN DANCE COSTUME.

Left, Wi'tapano'xwe, "Walks by Daylight," C. J. Webber, and right, Kwutcpagi'kamen, "Rustling Leaves (when Walking)," George T. Anderson, of Dewey, Oklahoma. (Courtesy of Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, 1932, and Allen S. Fisher, "Lutheranism in Bucks County, 1734–1934," Tinicum, Pa., 1935.)

[facing p. 4]

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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PLATE 2

GREASE DUSKING CEREMONY, OTTER RITE.
(Painting by J. A. Parks, Delaware Indian, Wann, Okla., 1931.)

[FACING p. 44]

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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FIG. 1. DELAWARE RED AND BLACK WOODEN MASKS WITH CORN-HUSK "HAIR" WORN BY OFFICER IN MASK CEREMONY (p. 80). *A*. Worn during mid-day performances (reproduction 5½ inches in length). *B*. Worn during morning and evening performances. The spacing of the red and black colors represents the proportion of light and dark, morning and evening (*B*), and in mid-day (*A*). (Sketch by M. H. Wheeler.)

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7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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535 the Cherokee Dance, others the Shawnee Dance, the Woman's Dance and so on, differentiated chiefly through their songs, all falling under the classification of Stomp, Social, or Round Dances, the favorites of the various tribes now domiciled in Oklahoma.

STOMP DANCE, *Ni·ka·'n'ka·n*, "LEADING DANCE"

534 The procedure normally among the Delawares in carrying
535 out the features of the widespread Lead, or Stomp Dance, seems to be for the leader to head the column of dancers without shaking time with the hand rattle. The drum is not called for. Despite the supposition that these dances emanated from the cultural influence of the Creeks, it appears that, unlike the latter, the Delawares did not show the feature of having the women, who dance immediately behind the leader, wear the cluster of tortoise shell leg-rattles. Nevertheless a specimen of Box Tortoise shell (Plate 4), arranged to be tied to the leg of a dancer was obtained in Oklahoma from Tom Long Bone who indicated that it had been worn attached to the leg of a dance-leader in social dances.

The garter rattle of deer hoofs attached to a leather strip tied below each knee around the leg is shown in Fig. 3. The hoofs are strung around the leather on thongs, two or three in each cluster. This jingler is asserted to have been worn only in Social dances by Joe Washington who owned it. Another specimen, from Wi·tapano'xwe, has a cluster of thirty pendant deer hoofs strung in the center half of the leather leg band eight inches long and three wide with double tie strings (Pl. 4).

535 The major personage of these dances is the *ne'ni·ka·'nka·s*, "dance leader," whose function is to head the line of dancers of both sexes and all ages who follow him in single file as he leads in a circle turning from right to left. The Delaware dance leader may also employ a short decorated stick or wand
293 held upward in the hand to accent his movements. Some
535 six or seven specimens of the leaders' wands, obtained from
532 the Washington family, are interesting and beautiful. They range between two and two and a half feet in length, decorated

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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293 with carving, paint, tightly woven diagonal-technique bead-
535 work, and feather pendants, single or in small clusters, as
532 the illustrations show (Fig. 2). The carving is usually in block form, the exposed wood painted blue, yellow, or red, and the beadwork designed as it is on staffs used in the Peyote rites, all showing the influence of Peyote symbolism in their decoration. The feathers attached are usually those of the flicker (yellow shafted woodpecker) to denote the sacred power invested in this bird which has a black moon-marked breast, and sometimes parrot feathers obtained from the traders. On one specimen a strip of soft muskrat fur around the staff represented an admonition to "be polite," at the dance, avoiding loudness and vulgarity which might cause trouble.

535 According to the occasion, his musical equipment may be
178 a hand-rattle. His lead songs are of the type in which a measure is sung by him alone when the dancers respond with a corresponding shorter measure in which the syllables vary only somewhat. These dances are most popular and seem to be growing in favor among the Indians of Oklahoma. In fact, within the last four or five years Delaware dance leaders have introduced them among the Osage, as is the case of Tom Half Moon himself.

535 While we have as yet no detailed accounts of such social-
171 ceremonial pastimes among the still practicing groups to serve as a basis for comparative treatment, I can testify to having observed them over a wide area in the east, indeed from the Penobscot, and other Wabanaki of the northeast, and the Iroquois and Shawnee to the Cherokee, Creek and Yuchi of the Gulf area. The purpose, however, is not to discuss them here. The known history of many of these dances throughout the area proves a case of diffusion from tribe to tribe as they are deliberately carried by visiting dance leaders. We have knowledge of a number of introductions among the Iroquois from colonial times to the present.

8: Linestrom T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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21. TWO SMALL FETISH MASKS OF WOOD, AND WHAT WAS POSSIBLY A POWDER MEASURE, MADE FROM AN ANTLER, CARVED WITH A HUMAN FACE AND APPARENTLY THE TAIL OF A RATTLESNAKE. THIS WAS UNDOUBTEDLY CARRIED ON THE SAME STRAP AS THE MASK TO THE LEFT, PROBABLY BY A LENAPE CHIEF. "THE *Pddâra* . . . IS HUNG ON A CHAIN OF THEIR MONEY ON THEIR BREAST." (SEE P. 207.) FROM ORIGINAL IN UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA MUSEUM. PHOTOGRAPH KINDLY SUPPLIED BY DR. GORDON, DIRECTOR OF THE MUSEUM.

[FACING p. 207]

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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648 Neither time nor closer association with Europeans has caused this feeling to disappear among the Delawares.[1] We observe the persistence of the same spirit in the sentiments conveyed in the text, the reverence for the *mores* of the past, the attitude of adoration toward their ancestors who, although ignorant pagans, possessed a mystic wisdom and intelligence which, they are willing to concede, surpassed the endowments and knowledge of the present generation.[2]

Yet notwithstanding the attitude of the Delawares toward the whites, we must not be misled, by consideration of the antipathy and distrust expressed since colonial times, into regarding the same spirit to have characterized their religious motives. For several authorities besides the narrator of the text coincide in telling us that the ceremonies of placation performed by the tribe are maintained for the benefit of all mankind. The white man is to be blamed for the existence in the mind of the Delaware of the feeling in favor of segregation. Yet the Delaware is willing to extend over his enemies the blessings resulting from his devotions.

771 The informant's own attitude is interesting as expressed in his own words.

"The Big House is regarded by the Delawares as the supreme religion among all forms of worship on the Continent. The center post [778 532] with the carved faces of the two sides is the foundation, whose topmost

[1] J. Morse (Rep. to the Secretary of War on the Indian Tribes, New Haven, 1822, p. 110) alludes to the Delawares of 1818 as "having a peculiar aversion to white people." Heckewelder still earlier had much to say about the causes of dissension, op. cit., p. 191.

[2] Note the spirit manifested in a communication from the Delaware Council to the Historical Commission (June 1929) "We are proud to have such a wonderful opportunity, so that our children will take pride in the work of their fathers to preserve our sacred Delaware tradition." While the hold of the old doctrine may be losing its grasp upon the younger generation of Delawares, we have some evidence of a reactionary trend in sentiment towards its rationalization. Not so long ago one of the Christian Delawares, [182] moved by a zealous, evangelistic impulse, arose and advised the conservatives to abandon once and for all the Big House ceremony on the ground that it was part of an age of superstition and ignorance. The opposition accorded this appeal was surprising and unexpected. The individuals behind the move for abandonment were, as it happened, uneducated themselves. Some of the defenders of the old faith, women who possessed good education in government schools, responded by accusing the intruders of incompetency to pass judgment on the merits of the contending creeds, by reason of their own ignorance; in not being able to read the testaments of one nor grasp the meaning of the other. Religious conservatism is a marked characteristic of the nationalistic element in the Nation. It is even asserted that they regard their migration from the east to have been in part prompted by a desire to preserve their religion. Dr. Michelson, who visited the tribe in 1912, was impressed by their tenacity of creed, (Smithsonian Misc. Collec., vol. 60, No. 30, p. 35) upon which Harrington also makes comments (I, op. cit., p. 200).

In an unpublished note to the original manuscript of Rafinesque's Walamolum (1833) now in the Brinton Library of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, the author gives a handwritten fragment of Delaware history from 1600. It is a bitter native lament voiced over the decline of the tribe, pronounced by a chief and translated by a John Burns, with mention of the removal from the east to west of the Mississippi and finally to the Osage country.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. ~~1925~~) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

end pierces the sky extending to the throne of the Great Spirit, whose right hand is resting on top of it as a staff to hold a great power given to the red man. All other Indian worship is a branch of this belief. When the rules are faithfully carried out in accordance with the ways of the primitive Delawares, it governs even the religion of our white brothers, perpetuating happiness, health, and prosperity among all nations the world over. In regard to the center post which is said to link the Creator with his chosen people; it is considered a very important feature of the religion. There should be a special authority to explain the significance of the center post in order that its real value in the Indian world be brought out. This being done the other Indian nations would be able to understand this great worship which now only the Delawares know."

A word or two of comment on my own estimate of the character of Delaware religion may not be amiss. If the student of the religious systems of pre-literate peoples feels inclined to disparage the quality of thought and the symbolism of the rituals of other North American forms of worship, I imagine that his objections, on the basis perhaps of their fetishistic traits and their lack of spiritual refinement, would be removed in weighing the qualities of Delaware concepts and acts of reverence toward the powers beyond. Close attention during the two years of study to the intricacies of the Delaware doctrines has impressed me with the conviction that we have here a real religion in a simple form. Inculcated in its followers are virtues (we'lhik) that no one would question as being of an ennobling nature, for instance humility of spirit and conduct,[1] dependence[2] upon the benevolence of the spirit forces, gratitude[3] for the blessings they bestow, supplication[4] for the continuation of blessings, the exemplariness of "clean" sincere behavior toward man and spirit,[5] altruism,[6] consideration of the afflicted and the aged,[7] the apostrophe against violence and war,[8] the value of concentrated spiritual unity in worship, the assumed dignity and barbaric grandeur[9] of the rites, and in particular the endeavor to insure and promote human health and welfare[10] irrespective of tribe or race. All are well worthy it would seem of respectful consideration, to which should be added that the procedures of the paramount

[1] tamak·e·'landamowa'k·an, "pitifulness in attitude."
[2] liyɔ'ndowak·an.
[3] ɔwe·'landamowa'k·an, "thankful satisfaction of mind."
[4] ma·'mendowa'k·an, "earnest pleading."
[5] pi·'tsowa'k·an.
[6] lape·'mkwus·i·n "act of making oneself useful."
[7] wi'mbendowa'k·an, "sympathy."
[8] wɔlangɔsowa'k·an, "peacefulness." (aspale·'tamowak·an)
[9] wɔli·'nake·wsowa'k·an, "fine appearance."
[10] kwe'namowa'k·an, "universal blessedness."

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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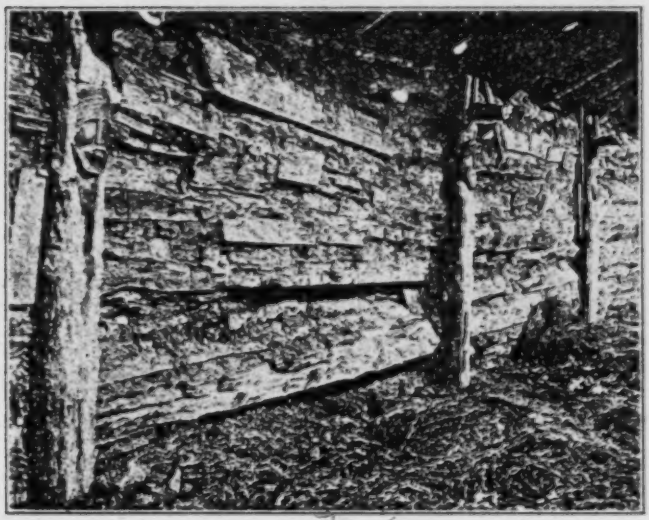

Fig. 1—Side posts of Ceremonial House showing carved faces. After Harrington.

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Fig. 2—Delaware Tortoise shell rattles carried by reciters and dance leaders in the ceremony. (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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required. These I propose to deal with in the following section as man-i'tu deserving of particular mention, since this seems to represent their standing in the minds of devout Delawares.

Not only is the principle of consanquinity applied to deities and nature-forces, but to tribes and nations as well. Indeed the application of term of relationship to bodies of extra-biological classification is interesting enough to call for the inclusion of information given as a commentary on this point by Wi·tapano'xwe. With more detail to be secured it promises a fruitful problem for sociological interpretation. The informant's notes on the quasi-consanguinity of tribes are as follows. The Delawares believe that they are the oldest of the Indians. They call the following tribes "grand children," Shawnee, Potawatomi, Sauk and Fox, Ioway, Tonkawa, Sioux, Ottawa, Kickapoo, Miami, Peoria, Chippewa, Menomini, Winnebago. And these, in turn, call the Delawares, Wabanaki, Lenape, or else "Grandfathers,"—but, adds Wi·tapano'xwe, we are all "brothers," i. e. Indians. There are the Nanticoke, Mahikan, Munsee and Iroquois who are called brothers, relative age not specified, in spite of the fact that the Delawares assume to be older than they. There are other tribes which have different relationship with the Delawares, for example the Wyandots, Seneca and Cherokee are called "nephews" (either filial or sororal) and the Mexicans are called "uncles." To white people the general term, meaning "brothers" is applied, while negroes are termed "elder brothers," being considered the strongest of all races.[1]

THE CARVED IMAGES.—The concepts involved in the use of carved images in the likeness of the human face represent a phase of religious thought that has developed some exceptional prominence among the

[1] Zeisberger, (op. cit., p. 109) gives information corresponding to that of our informant, when he says that the "Shawnose" call the Delaware "grandfather." In regard to the "Mahikanders" we find a contradiction, and so are not able to compare the author's remarks with those in the text. Zeisberger also says that the Wiandots (Wyandots) and the Cherokees call the Delaware "grandfather," which differs from the information brought forward by our informant who considers them to be "nephews" of the Delaware. One infers from Zeisberger that the Delawares called the Twitchtwes (Miami), Wawiachtanos (a group of Mahikan), Kikapus, Chipuways, Ottawas, Putewoatalmen (Potawatomi) "brothers," differing from our information which states that the above tribes are known as "grandchildren," except when they were termed "brothers," implying that they were Indians similar to the Delawares. Zeisberger gives no kinship term as being applied to the negroes by the Delaware. He says: "These (the negroes) are looked upon as of their own kind and allowed full liberty. Indians and negroes intermarry and their mulatto children are as much loved as children of pure Indian blood."

Heckewelder, op. cit., notes the Shawnee (p. 86) and the Chipewa (p. 124) as being grandchildren of the Delaware, which is similar to the information given us by Wi·tapano'xwe, but in the case of the Chippewa he differs from Zeisberger. Heckewelder notes (page 122) that the Nanticoke and Mahican call the Delaware "grandfather" which differs from the information in our text where they are said to be "brothers." Again a difference is observed between Heckewelder and our informant in regard to the Wyandot and Cherokee who are, according to Heckewelder, "grandchildren" of the Delawares, yet, according to our informant are "nephews."

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Fig. 5—View of the center post with carved face above. Looking toward the west door.

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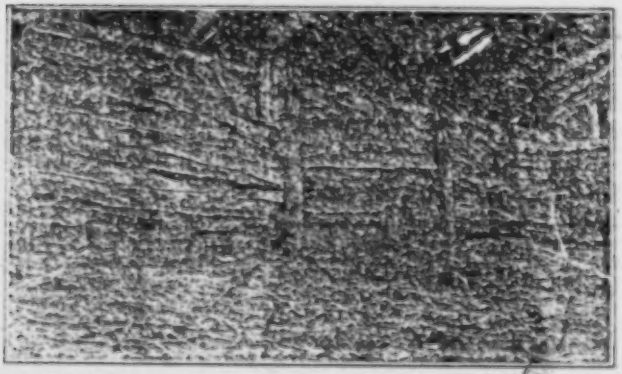

Fig. 6—View inside the Big House, showing support-posts, side logs and three of the false-face images on the side posts. The straw upon which the worshippers sit is also on the ground.

(Photos by Dr. Truman Michelson, Bur. Am. Ethnology, Wash., D. C.)

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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532 778 Delawares.[1] The term applied to them is mas-i'ŋg" (singular) "face." The concept defined for us in several sources of information, including the living teachers, shows that the carved representations are portrayals of the spirit-forces (man-i't-owak (plural)). They are not worshiped as objects. They stand as concrete representations of the spirit-forces as something to look at, to focus attention upon while the mind is centered upon the abstraction. The attitude is comparable to what is intended by the religious term iconolatry. The spirit forces are felt to be present where their likenesses are.

The images themselves when regarded as being separated from the domination of the function they serve are not treated with adoration. Hence when images are being made to replace old ones, in the occasional reconstruction of the Big House, the old images are laid aside, their meaning transferred to the new. Wi-tapano'xwe has himself, on one of the occasions when the Big House was rebuilt some years ago, carved one of the images on the side posts. This duty was assigned to the members of the council, each assuming the responsibility of carving one. His mental attitude is interesting in this connection. He made the post and carved the face on it, the second from the door on the west side of the Big House. He says, very naïvely, that he copied for his reproduction the one from the old post that he replaced, trying to reproduce as accurately as he could the technique and proportions of the original. He thought it best not to attempt any improvement in sculpture as he did not desire to deviate from established pattern. Some of the other artists, however, in making their reproductions attempted to do their best in sculptural representation. This shows us that the Delawares permit the play of individual motive in religious conduct, a fact which stands out in greater prominence among other Algonkian tribes where the organization of cult is not so strong. In short while there is undoubtedly much to learn from further experience with this sort of religious attitude among the Delawares it may be said that the images are strictly mediums for thought in the worship of the spirit-forces. The images are not the forces themselves. In the words of Wi-tapano'xwe, "You have the figure there in sight but the unseen spirit is back of it."

[1] Mask cults and image rituals of different degrees of importance are known only from certain parts of eastern North America; from the Middle Atlantic States southward (Iroquois, Delaware, Munsee, and Cherokee). The explorers' narratives, however, show the use of carved faces among the Algonkian peoples of Virginia and the Carolinas. The images formed posts standing at the places where ceremonies were performed (De Bry, Hariot). The use of carved masks (gourds) is indicated in the early 18th century for the Catawba by Lawson, while remains of wooden masks occur in an archaeological site in Florida (F. H. Cushing. Exploration of Ancient Key Dwellers Remains on the Gulf Coast of Florida. Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc., Phila. vol. 35, 1896, p. 388); and Harrington, (Cherokee and Earlier Remains on Upper Tennessee River, Indian Notes and Monographs, Mus. Amer. Ind., N. Y. 1922, p. 112), found a shell mask in Tennessee, in which state and Virginia almost a score are described by G. G. MacCurdy, xixth Internat. Cong. of Americanists, Wash. 1915, pp. 83-3, 64-5, 73; and W. H. Holmes 2nd Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethn. 1880-1, pp. 294-7, Pls. LXVII-IX.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Several technical details in the make-up of the images are important. 532 ●
One is the carved lines suggestive of wrinkles on the foreheads of the carved faces of the Big House posts. These are indeed wrinkles; the symbols of their age.

The black painting of the left side and the red painting of the right side of the images, as well as of the false face to be mentioned subsequently, and on the carved drum-sticks, has been given some discussion by Harrington[1] and was made the subject of questioning with Wi·tapano'xwe. It is evident that the dual color scheme, black and red, is based upon some very ancient and deeply symbolical native concept common throughout the east, the complete understanding of which has not been retained in Delaware tradition. We meet with the same color arrangement in designs of face painting in various connections among the Iroquois and tribes as remote from affinity with the Delawares as the Creek and Yuchi for instance.

Indications from the several sources available point to a fairly 778
uniform assumption that in the case of the Delaware the images or 532
icons are venerated as the symbols of deity, serving not as an object of worship (as the accepted definition of idolatry implies) but as channels for worship. It would seem that the icons bear an analogy to those functioning in Christian worship. Likenesses of the manitus in human-face form also appear in abnormal growths upon trees, and often in natural formations in ledges of rock. The latter have given rise to varied legends of stone faces familiar in the lore of the countryside. To the Delaware it is taboo to look much at them lest they speak to one, which might be for evil. And he imagines these nature-grown effigies to have the red and black coloration characteristic of the spirit itself.

In dealing next with the masks there seems to exist an attitude somewhat different from that which we find associated with the stationary images just mentioned. The Delawares, in recent times at least, possessed a mask cult. There is, however, so far as the annual ceremony is concerned, the single spiritual force, anthropomorphic in character, whose province in native theurgy lies in the custodianship of the game animals. This being is represented by a carved mask-fetish known as mɔs·i'ŋk'hɔli·'kan, signifying "mask spirit." More will be said of this "master of the game" shortly. The personification of this creature, who is represented in the ceremonial drama by some individual who wears not only the mask but a garb simulating the traditional hairy body-covering of the being, seems to enter into the performance of the Big House as an extraneous feature. Aside from several remarks to follow concerning the masked

[1] Harrington, (pp. 83, 140-141) I. learned that the "length-wise" painting of the sticks, half black and half red, implied that men and women were joined together in Thanksgiving, the black representing the warriors, the red the women.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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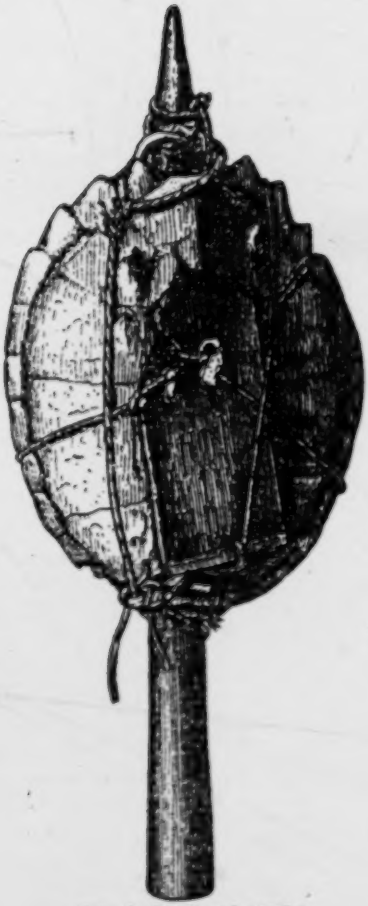

Fig. 7—Rattle of turtle-shell used by Mad'ngw. (Length, 16.7 in.). After Harrington.

Fig. 8—Central post of Ceremonial House showing carved face. After Harrington.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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being, taken from the discussions of Zeisberger and Harrington, I will let Wi·tapano'xwe place forth in his own words the pertinent remarks relative to it which he dictated to me. 1778 532

THE MASK DANCE.—The False Face, or Mask, performance seems to possess indications of being an archaic mask-ceremony admitted into the annual Big House ritual during some phase of its later development. It bears some analogies suggestive at once of the game-owner concept that is met with among the Algonkian hunter-nomads of the far north, the Montagnais-Naskapi. In particular we note that the mask and bear-hide clothing are kept away from the precincts of the Big House until the time assigned for their appearance by permission of the master-of-ceremony. The Mask dancer does not remain long in the Big House, nor is his action there in any sense an obligation. Occasionally no one volunteers for the dance and then it is omitted. The informant himself had assumed the rôle several times and he seemed to regard it as lacking in theological significance from the point of view of the Big House doctrine. He related in this connection, how the chief function of the Mask dancer was to frighten children before and after his appearance in the Big House. The songs accompanying the Mask-Spirit dance (mæ·ingkə'n·t'kə') were not completely known to him. In one of these the words refer to the Mask-Spirit riding on the back of the deer.[1] 796

The Mask-Spirit seems to hold potency of both good and evil influence. There is the narrative of a man (Ben Horse) who had come under the power of the Mask-Spirit to such a degree that he was occasionally subjected to its control and fell to performing the antics of the Mask dancer to the point of dementia. A medicine-doctor called upon to free him from this influence ordered him to make a mask and perform the dance at certain times. This eventually cured him and he became the custodian of his mask and developed into a Mask-dancer. An insight into the function of this rite is also given by the narrative of another, a woman, terrified by the Mask-Spirit requiring similar remedial treatment of the mask. And we also hear of some children once so frightened that they ran several miles from the camp and were overtaken with difficulty by their parents whom they took also to be masked pursuers in their confusion of flight.

The Mask-Spirit as a potentially malicious spirit is clearly totally different in conception from six carved faces, "our grandfathers," appearing on the posts of the Big House.

We are taught in the text that the mæ·i'ŋk'həli'kan is like the other man·i't·u deserving of adoration for the blessing he bestows upon hunters in allowing them to kill the deer, over whom he seems to act 796 776

[1] Another reflection of the tale known as Caribou-Man among the Naskapi of the north.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Fig. 9—Costume worn by impersonator of Misinghalil'kun. After Harrington.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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the part of custodian.[1] Harrington felt that this was the "most remarkable deity of the Lenape," who was "made guardian by the creator of all the wild animals of the forest, and was sometimes seen riding on the back of a buck, herding the deer; but he lived in a range of rocky mountains. His face is large and round, the right half being painted red, the left black, while his body is covered with long black hair like that of a bear."[2]

A certain amount of supernatural ability seems to be required of the individual who is to wear properly and display the mask. One who has this spiritual quality to a high degree finds himself able to see as well when wearing the mask, despite the smallness of the eye-openings, as though he were bare-eyed. His spiritual power, we are told, is thus tested; he partakes of the qualities of the prophet, kacila'su "great man." Other notes on the wearing of the mask are to be found in the text, page 93.

Before passing on, however, reference should be made to customs concerned with the mask recorded by the authors mentioned above. Zeisberger describes this as follows:

"The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their Wainkhoalican, that is image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head, in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room.[3]

Brainerd had occasion to observe the performance of the Mask-Spirit in 1745, on the upper Susquehanna, and wrote of the appearance of the Mask Dancer with "a coat of bear skins, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bear skin stockings; and a great wooden mask painted, the one half black, the other half tawny, about the color of an Indian's skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bear skin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced toward me with the instrument in his hand, which he used for music, in his idolatrous worship, which was a dry tortoise shell with some corn in it, and the neck of it drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle."[4]

There seems, however, to be something omitted in recording these facts. A much more intimate connection between the mask itself and

[1] A hunter's taboo, founded supposedly upon some ancient principle of altruism, is that the first deer or other animal killed by the hunter be not eaten. The meat is given to some older person. The slayer never gets even a bite. Some phase of this rule is to be noted for every northern Algonkian tribe, though in no case have I as yet been fortunate enough to elicit a religious reason for it among the hunters who follow the practice.

[2] Harrington, I, p. 32-33.

[3] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 141.

[4] Brainerd, op. cit., p. 237.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Fig. 10—Mask of Oklahoma Lenape. (Height 14.5 in.). After Harrington.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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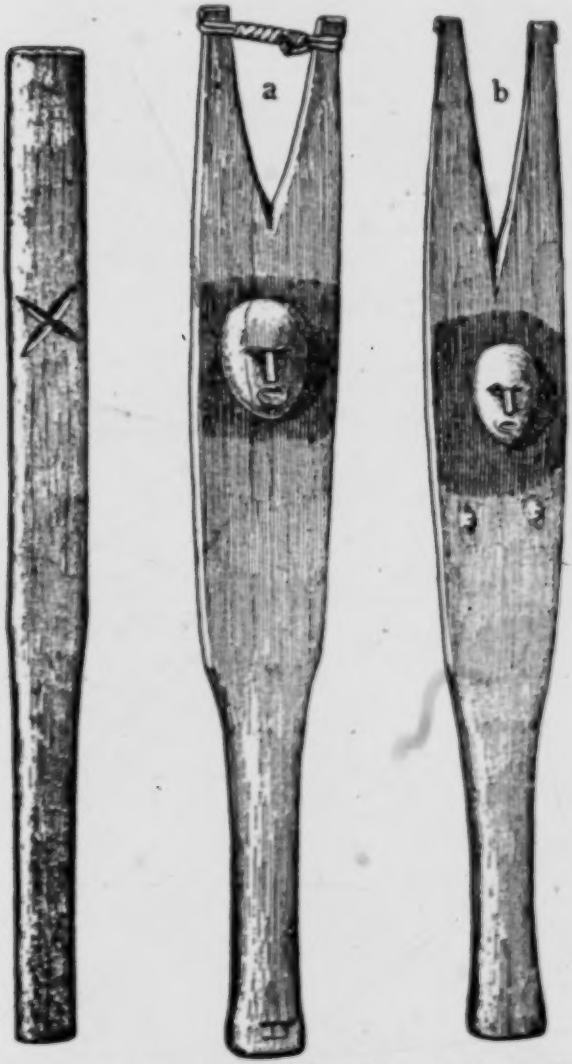

Fig. 22—Plain and Sacred (a and b) drumsticks used at the Big House ceremony in Oklahoma (Length, 18.6 in.). After Harrington.

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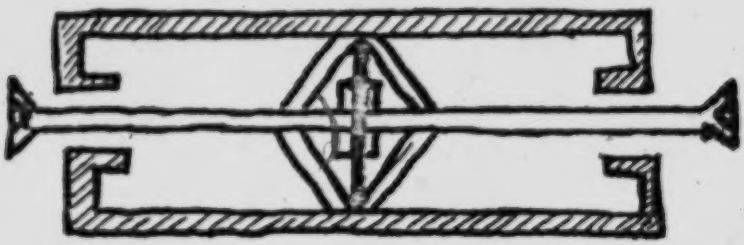
A



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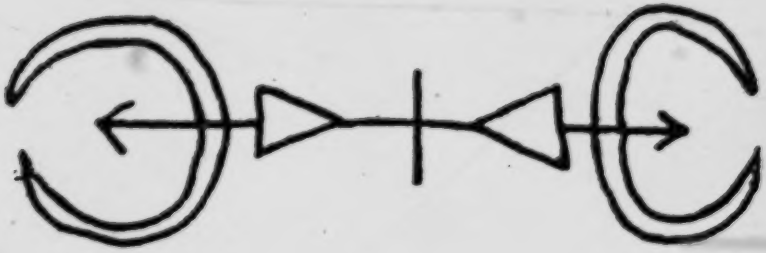

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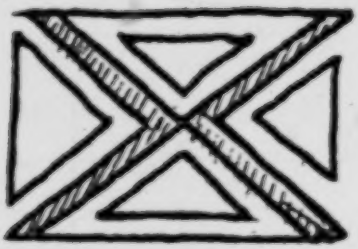

C

D

PLATE 2

A, B—Old designs in woven beadwork representing "clasps."
C—Peyote ceremony design representing "to be in good associations."
D—Meaning "Safe now, danger is past."

[P.28]

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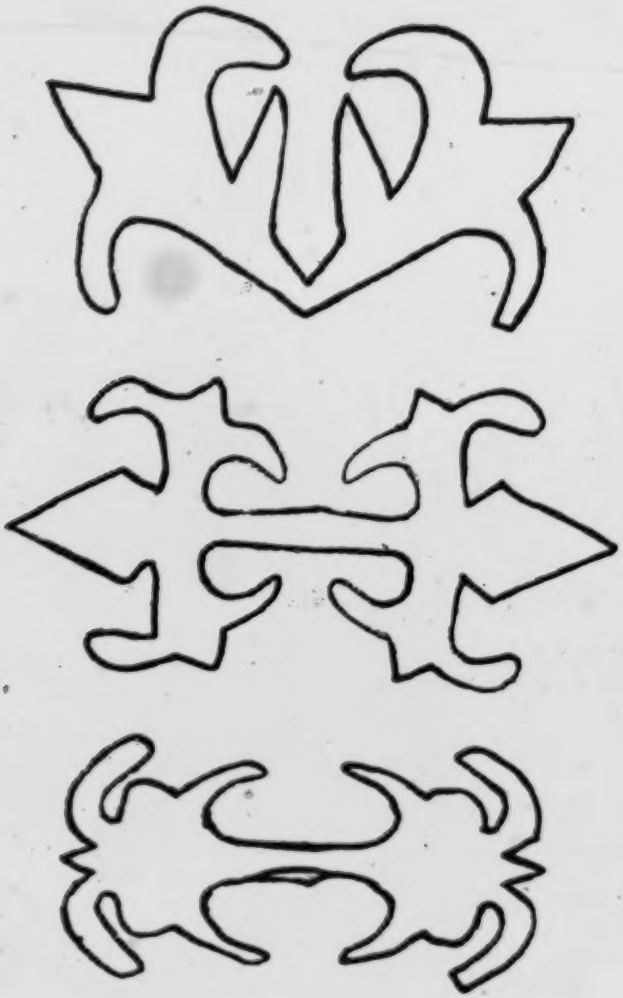

PLATE 4

Bead and silk work designs representing "flower" and "plants," reproduced on breechcloths, leggings, blankets, pouches.

[P.30]

[P. 11, A]

An excellent description

172 323 415 [114] of Owasco ceramics is contained in Ritchie's "Pre-Iroquoian Occupations of New York State". A reading of this should precede any serious approach to the study of what we presently believe to be Minsi pottery.

The bodies of Minsi vessels ordinarily are corded in some fashion. Ritchie assigns the greatest frequency to a finely corded body treatment with smoothed-over cord second, smooth third, and coarsely corded fourth. It is to be noted that other body techniques occur on occasion such as corded stick imprinted and brushed-over cord.

Miniature vessels occur in this culture. The writer has never seen any from the Milford area which were not crude, including one, partially complete, excavated by him from the Bell-Philhower Site late in 1947. (Plate 3).

It may be remarked in connection with this all too brief description of 'Minsi' pottery vessels that one of the stumbling blocks in the path of a final and conclusive acceptance of the Owasco-cum-Iroquois explanation of the ultimate Minsi Culture is the fact that to the best of my knowledge no sherd or vessel has yet been found on a presumed Minsi site embodying an indeniable combination of pronounced Owasco and Iroquoian decorative techniques. This statement is made with full awareness, however, that the so-called Castle Creek Epigonus pottery may represent a combination of decorative motifs.

Pottery Effigies

172 323 532 In the light of the finding by the writer of the pottery effigy of an animal head on the Bell site in 1949, there can be little doubt that objects of this type must be included in the material culture of the Minsi.

The object in question (Plate 4. Nos. 1 and 2) is complete with the exception of the ears and a small part of the lower por-

[P. 11, B]

172 tion of the face. The hole in the dorsal
323 surface (shown in Plate 4, No. 2) is con-
532 nected with the holes indicating the eyes. No explanation for the purpose of this dorsal hole or indeed of the entire specimen can be attempted at this time.

Bone

172 Bone and antler artifacts do not appear
321 to be abundant on Minsi sites. On occa-
41 sion, the bone awl, antler flakers of cylindrical form, combs, turtle-shell cups, perforated deer phalanges, perforated needles, antler picks, beaming tools, and short bone tubes, probably used as ornaments, are found.

Shell

At the present time, because of an almost total lack of evidence, (the Bell-Philhower Site report lists one shell bead found by Mr. Charles A. Philhower in a pit of the historical period and worked fragments of conch) the writer is not prepared to discuss the possible incidence of shell artifacts in the prehistoric Minsi Culture. In common with Ritchie ("Bell-Philhower Site", p. 178) he refers the interested reader to the Heye-Pepper report, "Exploration of a Munsee Cemetery" for a description of numerous shell ornaments, etc., from the *historic* Minsi site adjacent to the Bell-Philhower component.

ROUGH STONE

172 Net sinkers are of two well-defined
324 types: flat pebbles with two opposed
227 notches, and sinkers made of thin sheets of stone chipped into circular or rectangular shape with two opposed notches. These 'trimmed sinkers' may have notches formed by chipping, or rarely, by grinding. (Plate 5, No. 3, shows notched flat pebble; Plate 5, No. 1, shows trimmed sinker with chipped notches; No. 3 of the same plate is a trimmed ground-notch sinker.)

Sinkers of both types may range in size from an inch to six or seven inches in

[P. 12, B]

Sinew Stones

172 324 412 In the Milford area it is possible on occasion to recover egg-shaped (and sized) pebbles almost completely encircled by shallow pecked grooves. Ritchie in the Bell-Philhower report, p. 175, refers to them as "partly grooved thick pebble sinkers". The present writer has never found this explanation of their use to be entirely satisfactory (Plate 7, Nos. 1 and 3.)

Stone Faces

172 324 532 Under the category of rough stone it is proper to include the stone faces which now and then turn up on Minsi sites. To the writer's knowledge, at least five of these have been found in the Milford area, one splendid specimen from Minisink Island (Plate 10) being presently in the collection of Mr. Rudolph Ludwig. According to [796] numerous authorities, these rough-tone effigies were used in the Lenni-Lenapé Big House Ceremony.

Polished Stone Artifacts

Celts

172 324 412 The inventory of Minsi polished stone artifacts is not large. Most prominent in this category is the so-called 'thick-polled celt' (Plate 9, Nos. 1 and 3). It is to be observed that some of these are almost restagular in cross-section, others more nearly oval.

Small Chisels

Well made "miniature celts" in the form of small narrow chisels or of small pebbles with a celt-like edge are among the most interesting and unusual Minsi artifacts. Some (Plate 1, No. 8) are beautifully made. In my opinion, this type of implement is important in the identification of Minsi-occupied sites. Several years ago the writer published in the "Pennsylvania Archaeologist" (Vol. IX, No. 3) a brief discussion of the possible use of these small tools. In that article it was suggested

[P.15, C]

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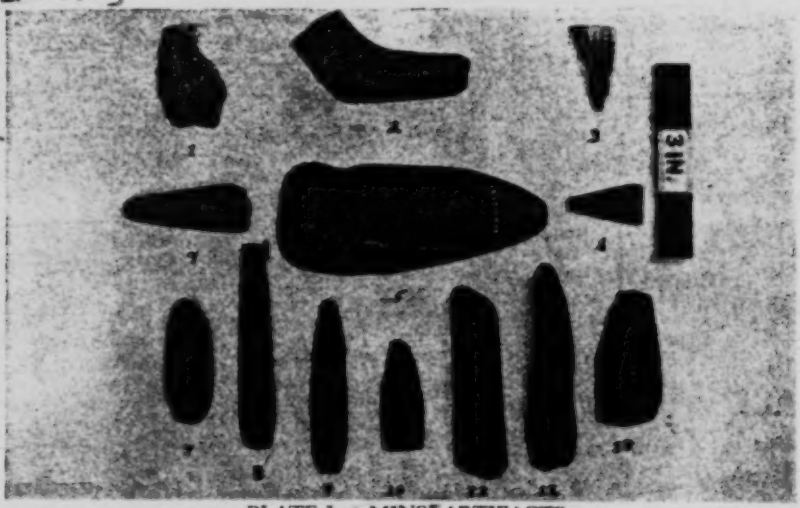

PLATE I. MINSI ARTIFACTS

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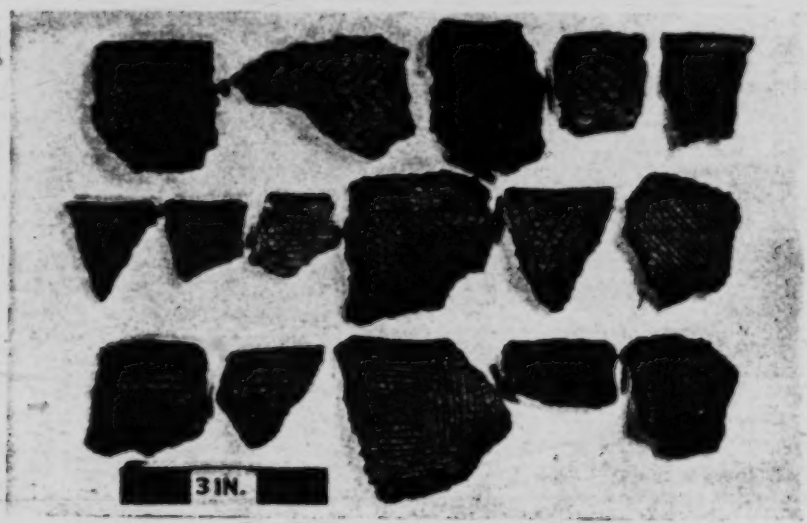

PLATE II. MINSI ARTIFACTS

[P 16]

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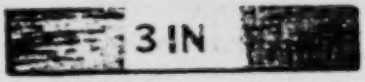

PLATE III. MINSI ARTIFACT

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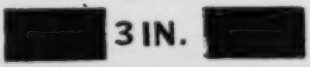

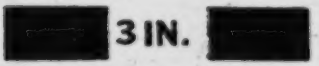

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PLATE IV. MINSI ARTIFACT

[P. 19]

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PLATE IX. MINSI ARTIFACTS

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PLATE X. MINSI ARTIFACT

Comanche NO6
Delaware NM7

165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173-174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kio: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer; then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 263a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212-213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win: